

PEOPLES OF THE LAKE NYASA REGION

even competing with the Arabs for the inland trade.¹ At some uncertain date there were two migratory movements away from the original home of the Yao. The first was a scattering from Hill Yao to surrounding hills, possibly due to internal dissension.² The next movement was caused by an attack of the Makua between 1850 and 1870.³ One party moved northward, finally settling in Tanganyika, as has been mentioned. Four parties moved south into Nyasaland.

- (a) Achisi Yao, who first moved from Mkwembe to Mchisi hill, and then to Nysaland, where they are represented by those under Katuli Native Authority.
- (b) Anamungu Yao, who first moved to Lianings hill, near the Lutwisi river, and then to the south-east of Lake Nyasa, where their descendants are now under Makanjira Native Authority.
- (c) Amungu Yao, first went to settle at Mungucho, near Fort Johnston. They were later driven out of Mungucho, by the last group, and scattered.
- (d) Amachinga Yao, first went to the vicinity of Mandimba hill, near the source of the Lujenda river. They were ousted from this fertile valley by the attacks of the Lomwe, and came into Nyasaland in four parties.

One party of Machinga Yao under Nkata (later called Jalasi, or Zarafi) attacked the Yao at Mungucho, drove them south and themselves finally settled there. Another party under Namala came with Nkata as far as Mungucho, then turned off to Chisai hill in the Fort Johnston area. A third group, under Malemia and Mtumanya, moved down to the Domasi valley via Isale hill, where they were attacked by the fourth Machinga group, under Kawinga. The latter had also accompanied Nkata's party as far as Mungucho, then crossed the Shire river to the west; here they were attacked by the Masoko Ngoni under Chidionga and moved south-east to Chikala, which they occupied until defeated by the British. Liwanda, the brother of Kawinga, moved to the Shire river.

The Amungu Yao, after they had been scattered by the Amachinga, settled some in the Chimunda part of Dedza district, some at Mount Zomba, some migrated to Ndlemba hill near Blantyre, some to Soche hill, some to Chiradzulu, Nguludi, Malawi, and Ndudu hills. These Amungu Yao constitute about half the Yao population in Nyasaland.⁴

The Yao invasion of Nyasaland was not an organized military expedition, like that of the Ngoni. The first immigrants came peacefully in small kinship groups. They took advantage of Nyanja factions to consolidate their position, until, by 1876, when the Church of Scotland Mission was established at Blantyre, the Yao were a ruling class dominating the earlier inhabitants.⁵ At the same time they vigorously carried on their slave raiding activities. In 1883 Thompson noted that the fertile country of the watershed between the Save and the Shire rivers was uninhabited because of Yao raids.⁶

The Yao of Nyasaland suffered from Ngoni raids, but were never subject to them. Several tributes have been paid to their soldierly qualities,⁷ and indeed it took five years from 1891, when the Protectorate was declared, before the Yao were subdued and the slave trade, to which they had been principal parties with the Arabs, sup-

¹ Brown, 1872, p. 27.

² Hackett, 1922, p. 7; Murray, 1920.

³ Historical notes in unpublished administrative papers.

⁴ De Planhol, 1920, pp. 191 and 192.

⁵ Murray, 1882, p. 12, and Stigand, 1900.

⁶ Abdullah, 1919.

⁷ Thompson, 1882, p. 90.

REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE

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LAND TENURE

The rules governing land tenure were those which would be expected of a society which suffered from no land shortage. A man was entitled to as much land as he could cultivate, the limitation being that he should consult the headman as to his neighbours' boundaries. Abandoned gardens could only be taken up with the permission of the original cultivator.¹ 423

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGION

The Yao are largely Islamized. Codrington remarked that the perpetuation of this faith was distinctly antagonistic to British influence, and it received considerable attention from chiefs and headmen. Schools for the instruction of youth in reading and writing Swahili in Arabic characters were established in nearly every village, where also prayers were made at regular intervals in the day. The Moslem fasts and feasts were also observed, and the Yao were not inclined to embrace Christianity.² Their conversion to Islam did not take place till the nineteenth century, long after their first introduction to the Arab traders at Kilwa and Zanzibar, although they had adopted Swahili modes of dress much earlier.³ 771 777

According to Hetherwick, Islam is strongest on the lake shore and on the east border of Nyasaland, chiefly round the old slave-trade centres. Makanjira's on the south-east side of the lake, and Domira Bay on the west, were the centres of Moslem propaganda. The Moslem population around Zomba and Blantyre consists mainly of Yao men, who have built themselves mosques in their own villages, or use the large mosques of Indian Moslem merchants. In the west districts, lower Shire, Ruvo, central Shire, Lilongwe, Fort Manning, the Moslem population does not total more than 732. In the districts round Fort Johnston and Kotakota, the Moslems are one-ninth of the total population, while in Zomba district they number one-fifth.⁴

The Yao pagan religion was a form of ancestor worship. Apart from diviners and medicine men, there was no regular priestly profession. Intercession with the ancestors was performed by the chief, on behalf of the chiefdom, by the headman on behalf of the village, and by the head of the matrilineal kin for his dependents.⁵ A man was qualified to approach his ancestors individually only if he had been initiated and had a house of his own.⁶ 771 769

Some of the ritual duties of the chief have already been mentioned. When his people were visited by drought or epidemic, or when he fixed the day for the beginning of the millet harvest, he made an offering of flour and of beer poured into a pot in the ground at the grave of a dead chief. The village headman made similar offerings to the spirit of his dead predecessor. The spirits of the dead Nyunja chiefs, ousted by the Yao invasion, were regarded as still powerful in the homeland of their people. For instance, Kangukha, whose shrine was on Mount Socha, used to be appealed to for rain, and on the principle that the most appropriate mediator between a dead man and the living is a descendant of the former, the Yao chief, Kapeni, when he wished to propitiate 771 631 622 775 762

¹ Macdonald, 1882, vol. 1, pp. 177-9; Sumner, 2, 1923, p. 286.

² Codrington, 1898, p. 328; see also Maples, 2, 1893.

³ Young, T. C., 4, 1932, p. 27.

⁴ Werner, 1926, p. 270; Sumner, 4, 1922, p. 311.

⁵ Hetherwick, 4, 1927, p. 129.

⁶ Macdonald, 1882, vol. 1, p. 63.

The Problem in its Ecological Setting

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slavery in that a trader could at any moment send some of his own slaves to the coast, was actually quite a separate institution.

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Although the advent of the White Administration stopped both domestic slavery and the slave-trade to the coast, both of which were vitally important elements in Yao economy, it did nothing to decrease or reduce the variety of the wants of the Africans. On the contrary, it obviously increased those wants. The missionaries, who were the first Whites to settle in Nyasaland, were forced to import large quantities of cloth and beads so that they could buy foodstuffs and pay their labourers. They quite unintentionally, therefore, became competitors with the Yao in this trade. By some accounts their goods were both superior and cheaper. As early as 1878 the African Lakes Company was sponsored by the Church of Scotland Mission, so that it could take over the trading part of their dealings with the Africans. The planters and traders who began to settle in the highlands after 1890 brought more and more cloth, beads and other trade goods into Nyasaland to pay wages and buy foodstuffs.

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When the Protectorate was proclaimed in 1891 and the Administration started to put down domestic slavery and the trade in slaves to the coast, the monopoly of trade in goods fell directly into the hands of the Whites. After 1893, when coinage was introduced, the economy of the country rapidly changed from one based on barter with slaves and ivory as the main outgoing commodities, and slaves, calico, beads and brass rings as the incoming commodities, to an economy in which the wants had become even more diversified. In 1895, the *British Central African Gazette* could record:

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The wants of the people of this part of the world not long ago were limited to sufficient calico to clothe the family, but in one short year their wants now include boots, size and quality a minor point, turbans, coats, and in fact at a distance the half-naked native of yesterday has the appearance of Sikh soldiery.¹

That the Yao took to the use of money is illustrated by the Acting Commissioner's statement in 1897: 'The Yao thoroughly appreciate having a currency. It has proved, in fact, a great step towards civilizing the native of this part of Africa. He is now able to accumulate his earnings, which formerly in the days of a

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¹ Vol. i, 2 (Sept. 20th, 1894).

175 When Livingstone passed the Lake in 1866 he found Mponda living in approximately the same place as his successor does to-day, and he mentioned that Kawinga was living on the west of Lake Malombe.¹ He also mentioned that the Machinga dominated the whole of this area, showing that by this time there had been considerable movement into it. When the Church of Scotland Mission was established at Blantyre in 1876, Duff MacDonald recorded that the disposition of the chiefs was as follows: Mlumbé to the north-west of Zomba; Kapeni near Blantyre at Sochi; Mpama at Chiradzulu; Kawinga at Chikala; Malemia on the south-west side of Mount Zomba, and the Matipwiri at Mount Mlanje.² These groups, except for Kawinga, still occupy the same positions to-day. At this time most of the movement into Nyasaland had ceased, and the Yao invaders had already set themselves up as rulers over the indigenous Nyanja. At the same time the Ngoni were making frequent forays into the Shire Highlands and the rest of Southern Nyasaland, so that the position was far from stable.

162 The distribution of the Yao to-day reflects the history of their movement into Nyasaland. The districts nearest and fanning out from the point of entry into Nyasaland, viz. the area due east of Fort Johnston, contain the largest proportion of Yao. The more distant the districts are, the smaller the proportion of Yao in them.

THE ENTRY OF THE MISSIONARIES

● 797 The Missionaries were the first Whites to settle in Nyasaland. When he was in Britain in 1858, Livingstone had recommended 175 the Shire Highlands as a suitable place for the establishment of a Mission. Inspired by his reports, the Universities Mission to Central Africa was founded, and in 1861 Dr. Mackenzie was sent out to establish the Mission. It was an ill-starred venture.³ From the sociological point of view its significance is that it

¹ Waller, *Less Journals*, 109.

² MacDonald, D., *Africans or The Heart of Heathen Africa*, Simpkin Marshall (London, 1882), i, 31.

³ Rowley, H., *The Story of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, from its commencement under Bishop Mackenzie, to its Withdrawal from the Landuit*, Saunders, Otley & Co. (London, 1886), and *Twenty Years in Central Africa*, Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. (London, 1889), 3rd Edition.

The Historical Background to the Modern Situation 27

initiated the relationships of Black and White in Nyasaland; 797
 and its failure was partly a result of the ambivalent attitude to 175
 colonial peoples at that time. The people of Britain were
 horrified at the cruelties of slavery, but the Mission drew upon
 itself severe public censure because it took up arms against the
 Yao slavers in its vicinity. The Mission had to face a very
 difficult problem. It was ostensibly a teacher of the Gospel.
 Yet about it the Yao were performing deeds of violence, robbery
 and murder, and were taking slaves from the Nyanja inhabitants
 in the area. At the same time hundreds of fugitives and runaway
 slaves were seeking protection at the Mission. To take in
 fugitives and runaway slaves was, in African eyes, as political
 an action as to take physical action against the slavers. Should
 the Mission close its eyes to these un-Christian barbarities, since
 they were a part of the secular life of the people, or should it
 take action against them? Livingstone had had no compunction
 in releasing slaves, and the U.M.C.A. followed his lead, and not
 only took in fugitives but actually carried out assaults on parties
 of slave-raiders. This was the time when the first of the Yao
 groups under Mpama and Kapeni were penetrating into the
 highlands. The indigenous Nyanja, whose political and military
 organization was very weak, ranged themselves around the
 Missionaries, and tried to use them against the Yao invaders.
 The situation soon developed into a struggle between the Mis-
 sionaries and the Yao slavers, in which the Nyanja headmen
 played very little part. Disaster followed upon disaster, and
 eventually the Missionaries decided that it would be politic to
 withdraw from the highlands and allow the situation there to
 stabilize before they returned. In Britain, however, public
 opinion had been roused by their militant treatment of the
 slavers, and the Mission, after losing three of its members,
 including Bishop Mackenzie, through illness, was moved to
 Zanzibar in 1862.

After 1862 there were a few expeditions to Nyasaland, but
 none of great political importance. In 1876, a second and this
 time successful settlement was made in the Shire Highlands.
 The Church of Scotland founded a Mission in Blantyre, which
 comprised a lay section of artisans and a clerical section of
 preachers. It was particularly careful that any political action
 should be taken by the lay, and not by the clerical, members,

The Yao Village

- 797 because it was anxious to avoid the censure which its earlier
176 colleagues had suffered. This Mission also felt it could not stand by and see cold murder done in front of its eyes. Yet fugitives came to it as they had to the U.M.C.A., so that the Mission, despite its unwillingness, was inexorably drawn into political relationships with the Yao in the area. The lay members severely punished certain wrongdoers. Eventually an African was murdered at the Mission. They tried the murderer, found him guilty, and allowed a local headman to execute him. The Home Authorities looked upon this action as a trespass from the Mission's proper function. The Mission suffered severe public censure, and several of the lay members were dismissed. It was clear that a Mission in the Territory could not be a mission alone; it could not escape the political implications of the situation, and for the success of its venture some civil authority had to be established.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH RULE

- 175 In the meantime Livingstone's publications were bringing the
648 horrors of the slave-trade home to the people of Britain, and more and more pressure was exerted to bring it to an end. As a result, in 1878, Captain Elton, the Consul at Mozambique, obtained permission to conduct an expedition to Lake Nyasa to enquire into the slave-trade. The British population in the Shire Highlands was now increasing so much that in 1881 a British Consul was appointed. From then on, until the close of the century, Britain followed a militant policy against all slave-traders, amongst whom were the Yao. No active steps were taken to institute a formal government over the territory, until in 1889 the Portuguese appeared at the confluence of the Ruo and Shire Rivers with a large military expedition which they maintained was scientific. Accordingly, on November 21st, 1889, the Acting-Consul declared the territory north of the Ruo to be a British Protectorate. The next year, Mr. A. Sharpe made treaties with most of the Native chiefs in the area. These treaties were later ratified by the Anglo-Portuguese convention of June 1891. It is clear that the British Government was protecting the treaty chiefs against the slave-raiders, and ensuring that no other European power assumed responsibility for this service.

622 hand, all villages tend to disappear in time. We should there-
 563 fore expect more of the headmen who came in during the
 167 earlier decades to be forgotten, and the trend should be more
 pronounced than it is. In fact we know from other sources that
 immigration of the Nguru, who represent about one-half of
 the Newcomers, was greatest before 1930, and it is almost
 certain that the figures do reflect the change in the amount of
 Nguru immigration, and that the factors which may operate
 against the trend are not important. As a whole the set of
 figures suggests that immigration is slowly coming to an end.

622 The Aborigines are all Nyanja. Among the Invaders, 70.2 per
 563 cent are Yao, 25.9 per cent are Mpotola, and the remainder
 3.9 per cent are Nyanja and Nguru. The Mpotola Invaders are
 practically all in the Ngokwe and Chikweo areas, so that in the
 other areas (i.e. in Liwonde, Kawinga, Chamba and Mposa) the
 Yao represent 94.9 per cent of the Invaders; the remainder are
 Mpotola. Under Ngokwe and Chikweo who are Mpotola
 chieftains, 54.5 per cent (48 of 88) of the Invaders are Mpotola,
 and 37.5 per cent are Yao, and the remaining 8.0 per cent are
 Nyanja and Nguru. Among the 486 Newcomers, 35.8 per cent
 of the headmen are Yao, 15.4 per cent Mpotola, 43.8 per cent
 Nguru and 4.9 per cent are mainly Nyanja. In general, there-
 fore, we may say that the Aborigines are all Nyanja; the
 Invaders are Yao in the major area and Mpotola in the other
 area; and the Newcomers are predominantly Nguru from
 Portuguese East Africa, though there is a fair proportion of Yao
 who have come from other Nyasaland districts.

622 There are significant differences among the three categories of
 775 headmen in their religious affiliations. In general there are more
 777 Moslems (71.8 per cent) among all headmen than Christians or
 Pagans. But there are more Moslems among the Invaders than
 among either the Aborigines or the Newcomers.¹ There are
 more Pagans among the Newcomers, but the proportion of
 Christians among the Aborigines and the Newcomers is about
 equal (25.0 per cent and 21.9 per cent). These differences in
 religious affiliations are consistent with the different historical
 backgrounds of the two groups. The Invaders are the de-
 scendants of the Yao slavers, who in the past had been in intimate

¹ Invaders = 91.1 per cent; Others = 65.9 per cent; Diff. of per cent
 = 27.2; S.E. of diff. = 3.7; C.R. = 7.2; $p < 0.0001$.

The Composition of Modern Chiefdoms

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TABLE VI

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF ABORIGINE, INVADER AND NEWCOMER HEADMEN

Religious Affiliation	Numbers			Total	Percentages			Total
	Abori- gine	In- vader	New- comer		Abori- gine	In- vader	New- comer	
Modern . .	17	124	396	497	70.8	91.1	61.3	71.8
Pagan . .	1	4	68	73	4.3	3.0	14.6	10.6
Church of Scotland .	3	10	39	72	13.3	3.0	13.7	10.4
Roman Catholic .	2	1	33	36	8.3	0.3	7.1	3.3
Other Christians .	1	3	10	14	4.2	1.3	2.1	2.0
Total . .	24	202	466	692	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unknown .	1	3	30	34				
	25	205	486	716				

Combining Roman Catholic and other Christian totals.

 $n = 6$; $\chi^2 = 36.48$; $p < 0.0001$.

contact with the Arab slave-traders and had taken over Islam from them. To-day the chiefs are still frequently called 'sultan'. All the chiefs in the Machinga area are Moderns except possibly the Malemia who was installed in 1947. He was brought up as a Christian but the strong Islamic tradition behind his status is reflected in the star and crescent on his ceremonial headdress. The Nyania, however, were influenced by the Missions from the start and the Nguru were not as directly concerned in the slave-trade and were therefore less affected by Islam. They have been easily converted to Christianity. Among them too there are more Pagans. The difference in religion here is largely a reflex of the political relationships of the headmen. In other words, the Yao stoutly maintain that they are Moderns merely because Islam is one of the distinguishing marks of the Yao and of the invaders in particular. It would be difficult for some of them to maintain their point in face of strict Moderns, for many of

622 them follow the tenets of Islam in only the most cursory way.
 795 An Nguru therefore admits to being a Pagan more readily than
 797 a Yao, because he cannot identify himself with the invading
 group.

KINSHIP WITH THE CHIEF

692 The most important way in which the three categories differ,
 693 however, is in the degree to which they are associated with the
 chief. While the Invaders are identified with the chief because
 of their association with him in the invasion, they are also tied
 to him to a greater degree by various kinship links than the
 other categories of headmen.

Although the exact composition of the invading groups will never be known, it appears from the accounts of old men, that the groups were made up primarily of the chief and his younger brothers, together with their sons and slaves, and some unrelated followers. Other chieftaincies and village headmen have sprung from the chief's lineage. For example, Kawinga was the leader who brought the present Kawinga-Liwonde group into Nyasaland. The first man to be called Kawinga left the Lujenda River where he was living with an elder relative called Nuanama, whose exact genealogical connection I have never been able to determine. Accompanying them was Liwonde, a younger brother of Kawinga. As they passed through the country just west of Lake Chiuta they encountered the Mponda under Chikwen, and these joined up with Kawinga and his relatives and went to Kongwe on the west side of Lake Malombe (in the present Kalembo's area). From this place they were displaced by the Ngoni and returned east and south to the Chikala Range where they displaced Malemia and occupied the heights. Subsequently, Liwonde left the mountain and went to live on the Shire River where the old Government station used to be. From this point on, Kawinga and Liwonde seem to have acted almost independently. Nuanama seems to have stayed with Kawinga. Chamba who was the son of the first Kawinga now set himself up as a chief on the south side of Chikala and Chaozi. Mpona, the son of the first Liwonde, moved to the shores of Lake Shirwa and set himself up there. Chiwalu, a sister's daughter's son of the first Kawinga, set himself up on the northern fringe of the area. Recently Sora, a sister's daughter's daughter's

SOME ANIMISTIC BELIEFS AMONG THE YAO OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

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175 THE original home of the Yao tribe may be roughly described as the large and
lofty plateau which lies to the east of Lake Nyasa, and is bounded by the Shire
Rivers and Lapela. Forty years ago, about the time that Livingstone first
entered the country, they began to be pressed on the north by the Magwagwag, and
on the east by the Makwa tribes. These invasions caused them to move,
some westward down to the shores of Lake Nyasa or the banks of the Upper
Shire River, and others southward to the Shire Highlands, Mount Zomba and the
eastern slopes of Mount Mlanje. In every case they succeeded in either
subjugating or expelling the original Makwa or Magwagwag inhabitants of these
districts, and it is no more here they lost their own independence.

175 Till about thirty or sixty years ago the Yao were untouched by any external
influences, and when at that time the Arab and coast trader from Kilwa and
177 Zanzibar began to trade with them they appear to have been little
affected by contact with these visitors. Only a few of the younger men speak of
following Mohammedan tenets, and these they only grafted on to their still
dominant belief in the old beliefs of their fathers. The Koran, or a few of its tenets,
was added to the many other charms they had already long about their necks.
The faith which the first missionaries found them in possession of when they
entered the country twenty-five years ago may therefore be held to be the
unmodified creed of the tribe from time immemorial.

177 The foundation of the Yao religion is to be found in the shade, the soul, shade
or spirit which every human being possesses, and which is the inspiring agent
in his life. They profess to give no definite description of the nature or
characteristics of this soul. In their minds however it is allied with the shadow,
and would seem to bear to the body the relation which a picture has to the
original. Their word for a shadow is *shidishi*, which is also the term that they use
to denote a picture, and pictures they associate with the shade or shadow of the
dead. I have known natives refuse to enter a room where pictures were hung on
the walls "because of the shadows, souls, which were in them." The photographic
process was at first an object of dread, and when it was turned upon a group of
natives they declined to sit down with objects of terror. "The Europeans,"

III. THE ENTRY
OF THE WHITES

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648 The first settlements in Nyasaland were in the Shire Highlands where a Church of Scotland Mission was built in 1876. In 1878 the African Lakes Company was founded to take over the trading activities of the Mission. As the White population grew the necessity for some non-missionary organization to regulate the relationships between Africans and the growing body of White settlers, who now included planters and traders as well as missionaries, became more and more pressing. Eventually in 1883 a British Consul was appointed. In 1891 to meet the activities of the Portuguese, a Protectorate was established and the military measures that had been proceeding against the slave traders were now intensified.

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648 The military police used by the British authorities had arms which the Yao could not withstand, and even the most successful of Yao military groups was soon destroyed. Breach-loading rifles outnumbered the Yao's muzzle-loading guns and cannons were also used by the British in some actions. The British had a force of Sikhs well-trained in military maneuvers. Even the previously impregnable Mount Cikala, so long held by Kawinga and his forces, was successfully assaulted. The superior arms of the British left an indelible impression on the Yao who had long conducted successful military campaigns, and in due course these arms came to be identified with the force of the white system of the Whites. One of the more immediate results of the success of White armaments was that certain Yao chiefs copied the initiative and used the British forces as a tool in their own political machinations. The history of the rise of Kalombo, although his country is outside the area of study of this paper, is interesting in this respect. Before the Whites came Kalombo, younger brother of Mawala, who was the father of the notorious Mpyanda, was an insignificant character. Just before the

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MAN.

[Pgs. 10-12.]

The men and boys now pass through the arch in order of seniority; each splashes 751
himself with the water in the trough, but neither speaks nor rinses the mouth. The 796
women come next, led by the head-wife of the chief; the latter rinses her mouth
and, instructed by the doctor, repeats a prayer similar to that offered by her husband.
The remainder of the women merely splash themselves, like the men, before passing
through the arch. All then return to the village, where the *pyajia* is continued.

Finally the doctor takes the hammer-head from the trough and hurls it to
the chief, who refits the haft into it, and, a hoe having been planted on the ground,
goes through the form of forging the latter by beating it with the hammer. He
then scrapes the ground with the hoe as if clearing a place overgrown with grass;
he does not dig with it as in hoeing up the ground for planting seed. After this
rite the chief again bathes in medicated water similar to that in the trough, and the
ceremony is complete.

Whereas the *pyajia* ceremony and its adjunct, the rite of the arch, are now
but rarely performed, no Yao will omit the rite of purification after a death in his
family. This ceremony consists of two essential parts, both protective against
the *saka*, a disease characterized by drowsy and supposed to be contracted by
contact with a corpse, or by association, especially by sharing a meal, with those who
have been in such contact. The first of these parts is bathing in certain medicines,
which protects the bather from *saka*, and the second consists of a sort of communion
meal, shared by all friends and especially relatives with those who have been
contaminated, and designed to protect these friends and relatives.

The devotion for bathing is made by soaking the roots of *Agrostis* and 751
Isodon in water, together with the bark of *Salween*, one piece each from the 796
east and west aspects of the tree; the water assumes a reddish tint, and the whole 752
body is bathed.

The communion meal consists of porridge made from any kind of flour or of 765
rice, and some *squads* beans. In the latter some scorched and powdered root of 762
Andropogon is mixed, with a little salt. All near relatives of the deceased must
partake of this meal, as well as their wives and their near relatives; part is carefully
put aside for the use of any relative unable to be present at the ceremony.

Latterly, since the spread of Islam among the Yao, this rite has become 772
confused with the distribution of food to the poor at the funeral of a Muslim, and 772
the Arabic word *sadaqa* ("charity") is now generally used for it, to the exclusion
of its wider, correct meaning.

It may be mentioned here that after the death of a child the father is denied 765
access to his wife for a period of about three weeks, and the first act must be one 767
of coitus interruptus.

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